Thus she performed several rites involving the maintenance of the immature khwan of children and of rice.[54]

The acme of maternal virtues was manifested in the "good nourishers" (lîang dî). These women had borne many children who "nursed and slept well, did not cry, and easily established good habits." They were lîang dî not just because of the time spent by the fire, for that time could be matched by persons who had lost babies. They were special persons of more than usual capacities for success in nurture. Good to have around for their auspicious influence, they were called upon to inaugurate or help processes concerned with health and growth. They performed, or caught the child in the winnowing ceremony, or gave babies their first suck. They were the persons to whom a sickly child was brought so that his health might be improved by calling the soul and tying holy cord at wrist and ankle (riak khwan).

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54. If a child indicated by continuous crying that he had lost his khwan, a mature (suk) woman had to be asked to call it back ritually and re-tie it into the body with sacred cord at wrist and ankle. There was no special magic. Her words suffice. Khwan-ladling, a more elaborate and compelling form of the same ceremony, used magical formulae (Textor:401-407). One of Phillips' sentence-completion tests was, "If one is frightened, the best thing to do is..." Of the respondents, 7 women, including one Muslim, would set to work to "call back the khwan" (Phillips:267-268). No man suggested the latter.

In the agricultural rites, women handled the rice's khwan in basically the same way when it was immature: inviting the young Rice Goddess to stay and grow in the field, and transporting to the house the child-like seed that only next year would grow to maturity. For these rites a woman used an incantation if she knew one. That she could also handle the rice khwan by speaking "extemporaneously" (Textor:429), indicated that her mere words were enough. If no one else were available, a non-suk woman could call the khwan of a child or of the Rice Mother by reason of her in-born female potency, but could not "ladle" a khwan.

When the khwan was mature (after a person was about age 10) men took over its care. In the men's thap khwan (khwan-strengthening) rite, here, too, women were the ones to carry off the cloth-and-leaf covering of the bàisĭ (tiered offering) into which the khwan had flitted during the ceremony. The rice-ceremony at the threshing floor was a thap khwan, so was performed by men.

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156 (riak khwan). Theirs was an augmented personal potency[55] in nurture not unlike the mana so widespread in the Asian-Pacific area.[56] The best midwives were liang dī, though not all liang dī were midwives. This societal peak was not an unattainable ideal. In the community, certain women were pointed out as liang dī and some of them recognized in themselves the validity of this title.

562 794 796 262 The association of rice, motherhood, and khwan now stands clear. Rice made auk by cooking over a fire, was the essential food not only for the body but for the khwan. Growth and life depended on the nourished khwan. Rice came from a maternal figure, the Rice Goddess, Mae Phosop (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1960). Human mothers, too, when made auk, gave auk nourishment: the milk of the breast was merely transformed rice. Whenever rice was eaten throughout human adulthood, the Rice Mother continued her nourishment, for in each grain was a bit of her khwan, nourishing to the human khwan. The rice-bowl and ladle, used in many a ceremony, stood for the maternal care given a human khwan, and by extension, personal care throughout life. Whenever the rice bowl with offerings (khwan khao: soul-[of]-rice) was presented by a parturient or by a sick person, loving care comparable to maternal care was being requested.

182 885 846 562 372 The idea of re-birth, of a fresh start within the pure area encircled by the holy cord, with auspicious words and consecrated fire, was deep in every life-cycle rite. The particular circumstance of the fire of parturition was a forthright cooking to bring out and increase a woman's essential femaleness, to transform her from a youthful, partial giver into a complete, mature donor of nourishment. Such was the satisfaction of women in this female role that many said they would like to be reborn as women. Few wanted

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55. Anuman Rajadhon (p. 134) reports that in India a newborn girl needed no ritual paraphernalia to keep away spirits because "her sex...is a protection in itself, and spirits cannot come to bother her." This was close to Bang Chan's idea of female potency.

56. Cf. "Mana" (E.R.E. VIII:375) for a quick run-down on a definition of mana.

overlap at all. Magic was wielded by men to gain power over spirits, persons, elements, and forces. It had either social or personal benefits. The role of highest social benefit, corresponding to the liang dī in women, was the khwan-specialist (mǭ khwan) who conducted the life-cycle, khwan-strengthening (thām khwan) (for persons and for the rice) and many other ceremonies for the mature khwan. This role demanded men of the highest qualifications in probity, erudition, and personal dedication. Men also had the formulae for curing, house- or boat-blessing, invoking guardian spirits (sān phrs phūm), etc. Men could make protective amulets to render the wearers safe from bullets, knives, spirits, and all sorts of hostile forces in the world.

On the other hand men's magical objectives could be aggressive and hostile. The gamut of amulets, missiles, love-oil, and incantations (Textor:passim) showed the potential for attack and why the converse need for invulnerability was so strong. Men had a nurturing (liāng) role, but only for non-human beings, e.g. buffalo, pet birds, and guardian spirits of house and land. Subverting this role for hostile ends, they obtained possession of the ghost of a recent corpse by gathering the drop of oil at the chin, and nourishing it (liāng) for use in sorcery. For a man, nourishing something gave control.

All of the powers of men's magic were available to women on request for any purpose, hostile or not, but the "owner" had to be the mediating agent.

A woman's magical knowledge was linked exclusively to her female task. It did not give power over people. It could not be destructive. No female sorceress existed in Bang Chan. No woman feared the magic of another woman in childbirth nor at any time. A woman's magic was devoted solely to promoting the processes of growth and life. Thus it controlled the searing heat of the fire, invoked the Spirits of the 4 elements, and helped at various points in childbirth. It handled the soul of the Rice Goddess and of Mother Sū, guardian of children. It restored any frail and wandering khwan to its proper bodily abode. Such was a woman's magic.

To insure separateness the respective provinces of magical activity were ringed with sanctions. Contact with a woman's skirt, undergarments, or menstrual blood completely negated any of a man's protective amulets (re tattooing, cf. Textor: 102). Though this reflected the traditional avoidance between sexual phenomena and Buddhism, it might also indicate a tacit moral evaluation of the magical powers of men and women: the powers for growth were ultimately ascendant over those for power, for men had nothing that undid a woman's powers. Though women were easily prey to men's magical control, as by

562 789 [754] [787] love philters, and they might be "sealed up" in childbirth or attacked by khun, their capacities to "liang" were inalienable. If any woman tried to tamper with men's magic, a severe sanction fell on her. She became the host of the phi krasu who lived from faeces like a dog.[59] On the other hand in a legendary case a man who tried to perform one of the women's rites to the Rice Mother was destroyed.[60] Furthermore, the Buddhist sanction of sinfulness fell on any man using magic for evil purposes.

562 791 [755] [793] The single channel where women might operate in the men's field of curing, power, clairvoyance, etc. was as a medium (khon song), through possession by a spirit. If possessed by a male mo, she could do everything a mo could do. Men were never mediums. Bang Chan's only medium was possessed by a male mo.[61] During seances she talked and sat like a man, and gave out cures and advice to an eager clientele. Only while wearing the yellow robe of an ordained priest did a man enjoy a generalized eufunction comparable to a woman's nurturing capacity. His powers in many respects were far greater than hers, but limited in her speical province.

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[832] [156] [688] [626] [593] 59. My finding is based on Textor's interesting facts (pp. 305-330). He described the hosts of phi krasu as married women ("never a maiden") in their 30's or 40's, who were "invariably" trying to learn love magic. Such women were, however, violating their sexual function as nurturant and worse, their status as "sul" women, ritually established by the holy fire! Ostracism by the community, implemented by fear of contagion through spittle, lasted even unto the deathbed. The phi krasu's daughter alone was immune while giving the devoted care which was every mother's due in her old age, for Bang Chan desired no alienation of this filial duty even out of fear of the terrible sanction on the mother.

[539] [776] 60. The legend ran that once a man instead of a woman went into the rice field to perform the ritual inviting of the Rice Goddess to stay there and be cared for with food and offerings during her pregnancy. The goddess he met was not an immature and tender child-like spirit, but the adult, pregnant being who was powerful, flirtatious, and frightening. Dazzled by her beauty he fell in love with her, and ran away with her, vanishing forever. The goddess, affronted because an improper person arrived to deal with her, destroyed him.

[825] [787] 61. In Bangkok, monkey, cats, or spirits may also possess women.

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[For information on various aspects of the Bang Chan social personality as revealed in the interpretation and analysis of the results of the Sentence Completion Test, see category 116, pp. 30-38, 51-52, 60-61, 67-83, 88-95, 108-109, and 143-196.]

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
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*125 15 should conform. (For example: *"The best way to treat a subordinate is . . . to speak to him with kind and agreeable words"*; *"When he thinks of his father, he thinks of . . .* the goodness and kindness his father has done for him.") This is not a universal pattern since definitions of the ideal are ambiguous, lacking, or inappropriate for many of the items; also, such definitions seem not to be applied to items which imply immediate action. However, they do appear with sufficient frequency to be noticeable.

• 156 None of this should be surprising, inasmuch as viewing behavior in terms of "the good" and "the proper" is a central characteristic of the villagers' thought and idiom. They tend, *considerably* more than Americans, to evaluate (in an ethical sense) people and events rather than describe them, and even to describe by evaluating. Ask most villagers: "What kind of a person is so-and-so?" and their replies will consistently be in terms of whether he is "bad" or "good," rather than in terms of non-evaluative description, *e.g.*, he is "funny," "passive," "interesting." The words, *khon maj dii* and *khon dii* ("a bad person" and "a good person") are two of the most frequently occurring items in the Thai lexicon. One might epigrammatically characterize much of the villagers' thought as "super-ego-dominated." That this mode of thought should be applied to many of the SCT situations is hardly unexpectable.[9]

121 15 Having recognized this tendency, however, there is the problem of assessing its psychocultural meaning. Do such appeals to the ideal, especially as applied to the self, in any way weaken our definition of the responses as "predispositions to action?" Are many of the responses mere verbalisms that have little to do with real behavior?

121 114 15 A number of theorists, notably Murdock (1940 and 1954) and Kluckhohn (1943*b* and 1951) have taken the position that cultural behavior should be distinguished into two fundamentally different forms: ideal patterns and real patterns. The former are "those norms which are verbalized as the ideals to which behavior should conform" (Murdock 1954: 22); and the latter, patterns of actual, overt behavior. Opler has taken issue with the necessity for this distinction, and has argued (1948: 116):

> My own feeling is that the concern over precepts or ideal patterns which contrast with or stand apart from behavior is a pleasant distraction which will not get us very far. In my opinion the disparity between rule and behavior in society has been greatly exaggerated. Actually, behavior remains remarkably close to rules or precepts which are

[9] This same characteristic has been described in other contexts (Wilson and Phillips 1958, Phillips 1958, L. M. Hanks 1959*a* and 1959*b*) as the essentially moral nature of the villagers' universe: the tendency, largely implicit, for Bang Chaners to perceive events of the most diverse kinds within an ethical frame of reference. It might well be, as Redfield had argued for many years (1941, 1953, and 1956) that such a cognitive orientation is characteristic of all peasant peoples.

[181] [114]

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TABLE 1. THOSE WHO OWN OR USE SMALL MOTOR ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO TRY OTHER AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS (FARMERS ONLY)

	Owns motor	Does not own motor but uses it	Neither owns nor has used motor
(Total cases)*	(70)	(150)	(106)
Have you ever used fertilizer?**			
Yes	18%	16%	3%
No	82	84	97
Have you ever raised tilapia?			
Yes	53%	29%	22%
No	47	71	78
Have you ever grown mushrooms?			
Yes	48%	49%	37%
No	52	51	64

[125]

* The bases on which per cents are computed appear in parenthesis at the head of each column in this and subsequent tables. Actually the bases vary by a few cases, table to table, since there were always a few respondents who did not answer a given question or whose answers were unclassifiable.

** Asked of farmers only. The bases are:

Owns motor	65
Does not own motor but uses it	141
Neither owns nor has used motor	82
NA	5

178*
177*
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There is some evidence, then, that if a person is willing to try out one agricultural device, such as the motor, he is more likely to try out other agricultural innovations. However, this "clustering" cannot support the hypothesis that there is something like "innovation mindedness" in general, or that acceptance of any innovation in a series is predictive of acceptance of all other innovations in the same series.

Evidence may be cited to substantiate this contention. In the first place, if such a clustering indeed prevailed, one would expect users of any of these agricultural innovations to be more disposed than others to use, as well, certain non-agricultural innovations, such as hospital or clinic facilities, for example.